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CHARLES DEANE, LL.D.

A Memoir.

By JUSTIN WINSOR.

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VICE-PRESIDENT MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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MEMOIR.[1]

In February, 1865, just after he had retired from business and when he was fifty-two years old, Mr. Deane wrote a brief sketch of the earlier part of his life, and brought the narrative down to a time when he had already formed those acquaintances which caused a good part of the enjoyments attending his less active but riper years. With this acquaintance broadening year by year and bringing within his sympathies and interests many of the foremost historical scholars of his day, he began to cultivate habits already formed of epistolary intercourse; and as his fame as an exact student of American history grew, he was more and more sought for his opinions and counsel on historical questions. This as well as his friendships fostered a taste for correspondence; and the large mass of letters, full of discussion and inquiry concerning points and phases of our history, which he left behind him, would afford matter for an interesting biography far more extensive than it is customary to insert in the Proceedings of our Society. To round out the proportions of this life, so richly endowed in all that interests the lover of American history, one would have also to go through his abundant and extraordinary library of nearly thirteen thousand volumes to find the minutes of his researches which he scattered so plentifully on fly-leaves and margins, and to discover the letters, memoranda, and scraps which he had laid between the leaves of his books. He rarely kept a perfect copy of his own letters, and made no use of press-copying appliances, and the biographer would have to recover

[1] The engraving accompanying this memoir follows a photograph taken in Toronto in May, 1875.

his letters from his correspondents. But he often preserved his first drafts and the notes upon which his letters were based, and they will be found in his books or laid within the folds of the letters he received. I should judge that he rarely destroyed a letter ; and the files which bear the names of C. F. Adams, Isaac Arnold, George Bancroft, John Russell Bartlett, J. Carson Brevoort, George Brinley, John Carter Brown, Richard H. Dana, Henry B. Dawson, Henry M. Dexter, Samuel G. Drake, Edward Everett, Charles Folsom, Peter Force, Richard Frothingham, William Gammel, George W. Greene, H. B. Grigsby, Samuel F. Haven, Joseph Hunter, J. G. Kohl, James Lenox, George Livermore, H. W. Longfellow, Samuel K. Lothrop, J. R. Lowell, W. P. Lunt, R. H. Major, Brantz Mayer, J. L. Motley, J. G. Palfrey, Joel Parker, Theophilus Parsons, Josiah Quincy, Chandler Robbins, Lorenzo Sabine, Stephen Salisbury, James Savage, N. B. Shurtleff, Jared Sparks, Henry Stevens, George Ticknor, John Waddington, Emory Washburn, William Willis, Leonard Woods, Thomas H. Wynne, — to say nothing of those among the living, — testify to the faithfulness of mutual intercourse. All this material must be left for some one who may be prompted to be the biographer of one who held hardly a second place to any among us, as a historical student, as distinct from those historical writers who have associated their names with prolonged works. For the present purpose there will be enough ground to cover, if the story of his life be confined in the main to the printed memorials of its literary activity.

But in the first place we may learn from the brief autobiographic fragment already referred to, the significance of his earlier years. He says : —

"I was born in Biddeford, in the State of Maine, on the Saco River, Nov. 10, 1813. My father, Dr. Ezra Deane, was descended from Walter Deane, who with his brother John came from Chard, near Taunton in England, and settled in Taunton, Massachusetts, then in Plymouth Colony. My father was born in Connecticut, and after getting his profession of a physician, he removed to Maine, and lived in different places before he settled in Biddeford. There his first wife died. She was a daughter of the Rev. Paul Coffin, S.T.D., of Buxton, Maine. My father afterwards married a daughter (my mother) of the Rev. Silas Moody, of Arundel, now Kennebunkport. When old enough I went to the public school at Biddeford. For a few quarters I went to the

Saco Academy. I also attended a classical school kept by Phineas Pratt, formerly preceptor of the academy. [There was thought at this time of sending him to Bowdoin College, where an elder brother was at this time the classmate of Longfellow.] When not yet sixteen years of age I went to Kennebunkport to live with my mother's brother, Silas Moody, who kept there a shop, with such variety of merchandise as is usual in 'Country Stores.' It was my duty to open the store in the morning, sweep it out, make the fire when needed, and attend on customers, as I was able. The preaching on Sunday was during my stay there a part of the time at the old meeting-house where my grandfather once preached, and a part of the time at the meeting-house in the village. They were two miles apart. The preaching was orthodox, and my uncle and aunts were of that persuasion. I remained in Kennebunkport about a year and a half, and then I went into the store of Mr. Joseph M. Hayes, of Saco (on Cutts or Factory Island). I was expected to sleep in the store with the older clerk, and to take my meals at Mr. Hayes's house very near the store. I had duties to perform similar to those in my uncle's store, but I had harder work. Saco was a flourishing place, and the York Company's establishment there gave us a good deal of business. I had the privilege of spending Sundays at my father's house and of going to church with the family. I served Mr. Hayes two years, and with letters of introduction from my employer, I visited Boston and New York, in the spring of 1833, with a view to finding a situation. I had a letter to Messrs. Waterston, Pray, & Co. of Boston, into whose employ I finally agreed to go; and entered their store, August 23, 1833, as a salesman. I was then over nineteen years of age. My situation was a pleasant one, and I believe I commended myself to my employers. My agreement for salary was two hundred dollars a year until I should be twenty-one. On arriving at that age I agreed again with them for three years. In 1840 I was advertised a partner in the house of Waterston, Pray, & Co., and the next year was married to Helen, Mr. Waterston's eldest daughter. We went to live in a small but pretty house in Edinboro' Street, Boston, which I had bought.

"Soon after I married I began to add to my slender stock of books. I date my love and taste for books and reading, in American history especially, from a summer spent in 1843 at Hingham. I found I did not know the distinction between the Old Colony and the Massachusetts Colony, and I desired to inform myself; and soon after I began reading about our early history. I found at Burnham's book-shop a copy of Morton's 'New England's Memorial,' edition of 1721. I bought it and read it. I also bought Young's 'Chronicles of the Pilgrims,' which was published a few years before (1841). I also read Allen's 'American Biography,' the first edition, 1806. I soon

after became acquainted with Dr. Alexander Young and Edward A. Crowninshield, who were much interested in these early books, and their acquaintance gave me new zest for the buying of books. I also became acquainted with Mr. Henry Stevens of Vermont, who soon afterwards went to London, where he has acted as agent for American book-buyers. He has sent me a great many volumes, though few compared with what he has sent to other purchasers, like Mr. Brown of Providence, and Mr. Lenox of New York. My acquaintance also with my friend George Livermore has formed a pleasant circumstance in my life. He has [1865] a real taste for books, but he does not collect precisely in my line. He is interested, however, in literature generally. Dr. Young was also a genuine lover of books. In 1846 I wrote an article in the 'Evening Transcript' on the Pilgrims. It was a notice, I think, of a paper by George Sumner in the 'Massachusetts Historical Collections,' and of another in the 'Christian Examiner.' In that article I spoke favorably of Dr. Young's 'Chronicles of the Pilgrims.' Dr. Young spoke to me about my article, which he appeared to like; and upon that our acquaintance was formed. He soon after published his 'Chronicles of Massachusetts,' and asked me to write a notice of it. I bought a copy of the book, and wrote a notice of two columns in the 'Boston Courier.' It was not a discriminating critique. I was probably not capable of writing one, though I did criticise the Doctor's position in calling Winthrop the first governor of Massachusetts, and contended that Endicott was entitled to that honor. In a few years (1849) I was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, nominated by Dr. Young. Mr. Livermore was elected at the following meeting.

"Before becoming so much interested in New England history, I had been a good deal occupied with the study of mental philosophy, or that part of it which relates to the freedom of the will, and I had bought and read a good many books on the subject. I had felt deeply that the necessitarians had the best of the arguments. I used as I had the opportunity to converse with my father on these themes. He was a believer in philosophical necessity.

"I wrote occasionally for the newspapers, and intended to preserve such communications for future reference, and indeed have for the most part done so.[1]

[1] These early newspaper articles by Mr. Deane are all preserved, as well as later ones, in a scrap-book which he kept for this purpose. The earliest seems to be a paper on the heirs of Miles Standish, published March 31, 1846. The article occasioned by George Sumner's contribution was printed May 16; that in the "Courier" on Dr. Young's book was July 8. Just after this he made a trip to Plymouth, and saw for the first time the localities which were to be in the future of so much attraction to him. He chronicles this excursion in a paper printed August 11.

"For the past ten years (now February, 1865) I have had considerable to do in connection with the volumes of the Historical Society."

Here the brief sketch ends.

Mr. Deane's business career was a successful one; and when he left his mercantile connections, he did so with the satisfaction of having passed through his commercial experience with credit and an untarnished name. He privately printed in 1869 a brief memoir of his father-in-law, under whose eye he had made the advances in his business life. Reverting to the career of his senior partners, he said: "In 1814 Messrs. Waterston & Pray established themselves in Boston; and the firm, under that name and under the style of Waterston, Pray, & Co., and subsequently under that of Waterston, Deane, & Co., were for many years well known throughout the country, first as importers of dry-goods, and afterwards as commission merchants for the sale of domestic goods." Mr. Waterston, who had emigrated from Scotland in 1806, retired from active business in 1857, then in his eightieth year, leaving the burden of seniority in the house upon his son-in-law, till the latter's final retirement in 1864. Fortune and felicity in affairs naturally pointed him out for fiduciary offices; and our late associate, the Hon. Samuel C. Cobb, who sat for many years with him at the directors' board of one of the oldest insurance companies in Boston, bore testimony, at the meeting of this Society which was held to take notice of Mr. Deane's death, to his great practical wisdom and keen discrimination in business questions, and to the unswerving integrity and unsullied character which were recognized by all who came in contact with him.

Mr. Deane's studies early made him familiar with the aspects of those beginnings of our American history which are associated with the banks of the James, in Virginia, and imparted also so much of interest to the diversified shores of New England; and his love of this history never ceased. It is not easy to say whether, in the estimation of scholars, he identified himself more with the problems of the opening years of the Plymouth than of the Virginia Colony. He naturally turned in the first instance to the oldest of the New England settlements; and the scrap-book which contains his early newspaper

communications shows a great preponderance of interest in the Pilgrim story.

Judge Davis's edition of Morton's "Memorial" had been one of the books to interest Mr. Deane in the earliest years of his historical study, and he was an eager attendant upon the sale of the library which that editor had gathered. It was at this sale, in 1847, that he became the possessor of a fragment of the original manuscript of Prince's "Annals," which contained some passages which that author had omitted in the printed book, and through which he had run his pen. The interest in the Pilgrim history which had been raised in Mr. Deane a few years before, when he was first introduced to the story of the founders of New Plymouth by perusing Dr. Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," led him to understand at once the significance of the initial B, which Prince set against such passages as had been taken from the then lost manuscript history of the Colony by Governor Bradford; and eager to help restore as much as possible the text of that narrative, and to eke out what had already been done in this way by Dr. Young from other sources, he soon communicated to the April number (1848) of the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" two paragraphs from that fragmentary manuscript which Prince had cancelled, and which had been copied from Bradford. They presented two heretofore unknown incidents of the memorable voyage of the "Mayflower." One was the hurling into the sea by a lurch of the ship of John Howland, one of the passengers, and his being saved by catching hold of the top-sail halliards, fortunately floating on the water at the time; and the other was the burial at sea of one of the seamen. The last incident afforded Mr. Deane the text, that a mind of such scrupulous accuracy as his found to have a ready application. The statement that one "passenger" had died on the voyage had easily been made, with ordinary writers, to mean that but a single life was lost; and Mr. Deane threw out a pointed reference to the danger of such hasty inferences. The incidents are both so striking that one can only account for the failure of Judge Davis to note them in his edition of Morton by supposing that he could never have read the fragment, which had now passed under the scrutiny of younger if not more active eyes. Mr. Drake, the editor of the "Register," in introducing Mr. Deane's com-

munication, as from one "who is very curious in all matters relating to the beginning of New England," goes on to say that this little recovery of a paragraph or two of the Bradford history only shows that the recovery of the long-lost manuscript was still to be desired, after all that had been done in the endeavors to restore it. He and Mr. Deane had no suspicion that the clew to such a discovery already existed.[1]

The next number of the same periodical gives us the earliest example which we have of Mr. Deane's method of annotating historical documents. Its editor, Mr. Drake, possessed an original letter addressed, in February, 1631–32, to Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts Bay, by Governor Bradford and other leading men of the little colony at New Plymouth. This document is, perhaps, the most interesting for its group of signatures, showing, besides Bradford's, those of Alden, Standish, Fuller, and Prence, which we associate with the Pilgrim history, and is now in the cabinet of our associate, Judge Chamberlain. It was submitted by Mr. Drake to his new contributor, and was printed in the July number (1848) with his annotations. He had already divined the meaning of some of the significant passages in the intercourse of the two Colonies, and with a caution which characterized him through all his critical studies, he simply said that "it has sometimes been urged that the early Colony of Massachusetts was not so scrupulously regardful of the rights of her weaker neighbors as a more enlightened and liberal policy would seem to demand." In one of these notes he gives his testimony to the laborers already distinguished in this field, to "the labors of Davis, Baylies, Young, and others, who have brought their united gifts of learning, diligence, and zeal to this work; but the field," he adds, "is not yet exhausted. Mr. Secretary Morton," he continues, "would have deserved better of posterity had he edited and published his uncle's [Governor Bradford's] writings, and others which he had in his possession, instead of compiling his 'Memorial' from them. However much we may regret that the author had not been more minute, [the 'Memorial'] is a work which will never be superseded." He then urges that one — it is suspected he meant Dr. Young — would undertake a new edition of the "Memorial," adding from later stores to the already rich anno-

[1] Mr. Deane made some remarks on this recovered bit of Bradford in our Proceedings, April, 1879.

tations of Judge Davis. But there were developments soon to be manifest that would drive all such wishes from his mind.

There had up to this time been no clew to the region of English soil which had nursed the infant church of that body of Separatists who after their sojourn in Holland came as pilgrims to the New World. Mr. Savage had drawn the attention of Mr. Joseph Hunter, a well-known English antiquary, to this problem in 1842; and it was at that time apparent that the truth was within reach. Every student of the Pilgrim history was electrified when, in 1849, Mr. Hunter announced that he had removed the obscurity. Cotton Mather had given the place of Bradford's birth as *Ansterfield*, but there was no such place in the British gazetteers. Hunter, in a tract, "The Founders of New Plymouth," which he published in 1849, found a record of the birth of Bradford at *Austerfield*; and he set forth much else respecting the relations of Scrooby and Austerfield to a little knot of Separatists, gathered thereabouts, of whom Brewster and Bradford were the principal in interest.

Presently Judge Davis's estate was to yield another surprise. The earliest patent which the Pilgrims enjoyed, that of June 1, 1621, had so far passed out of sight when Dr. Young was engaged in his studies of the Pilgrims, that he could not anywhere find it. Davis had noted its discovery early in the century in the Land Office in Boston, and it was now found among some papers which had once belonged to him. Mr. Deane procured a transcript of the document, and prefacing it with an explanatory note, he printed it in the second volume of the fourth series of Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1854, of which Society he had been at this time a member for five years. He also made this little reprint the first of the numerous separate reprints which from time to time he made of the papers which he contributed to serial publications.

The little book also marks a stage in the history of American printing, for he caused four copies of it to be struck off on vellum, — the earliest instance of book printing on that material in the United States; and he caused also a single copy to be printed on old paper. Besides the vellum copy which he kept for himself, he gave one copy to Mr. James Lenox, of New York, with whom, as long as this gentleman lived, Mr. Deane maintained a correspondence on bibliographical questions.

Another he gave to his friend Edward A. Crowninshield, who was allied to Mr. Deane by sympathies that made them both enthusiasts in the collecting of books. This copy was last sold at the Menzies sale, for $51, and is the only one of the four which has come upon the market. The fourth copy was given by him to perhaps the dearest of his friends, whose companionship was made close by the relations of neighbor, and whose character and studies peculiarly commended themselves to him, — George Livermore.

Mr. Deane had hardly placed this bibliographical enterprise to his own credit, when another event characterized the same year (1855), and served to place his name at once among the chief authorities on Pilgrim history. The story of the losing and finding of the Bradford manuscript has already been told by the present writer in the Proceedings of this Society, Nov. 10, 1881. That paper was written in close communion with Mr. Deane, and with dependence in part upon papers lodged with him by the two contestants for the honor of the recognition. To make the story on this occasion brief, it is enough to say that the history of Plymouth Plantation by Governor Bradford had not been traced by American students since it disappeared about the time of the outbreak of the American Revolution. By some means, not apparent, it had found its way into the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham Palace. Here during the preceding fifteen or twenty years it had been seen and read by two persons studying the history of Episcopacy in America, and they had each used and referred to it in their publications. These were the Bishop of Oxford, who in his "Protestant Episcopal Church in America," published in 1844, had cited it as a "Manuscript History of the Plantation at Plymouth," and the Rev. J. S. M. Anderson, who in his "History of the Colonial Church," published in 1848, had explicitly referred to it as written by Governor Bradford and as having been used by Prince. In a most surprising way these citations had escaped the attention of every one especially interested in Pilgrim history, till the late Mr. John Wingate Thornton noted the reference in the Bishop of Oxford's book, and was so struck with the chance it afforded of a clew to new material, that he brought it to the notice of the Rev. John S. Barry. This gentleman, then at work on his history of Massachusetts, had a more immediate

incentive to study the citations, and soon discovered that if the manuscript was not Bradford's — Anderson's book was not yet in evidence — it must be a part of it, or in whole or in part a copy of it. Mr. Barry had already had much occasion to consult with Mr. Deane during the progress of his history; and in the first volume of it, then in press, he had said of him that "few were more conversant with the early history of Massachusetts," and had spoken of "his well-stored library as a treasure of rare works on American history." To no one then could the fortunate identifier of the extracts which Bishop Wilberforce gave go with a surer chance of reciprocated delight than to Mr. Deane; and Mr. Barry found him in a ready frame of receptivity and eager with suggestions. Mr. Deane looked over the evidence as Mr. Barry presented it, and could but agree with his friend's conclusions. He had just been designated by the Historical Society to make up and edit a volume of their Collections, and was already contemplating a study of Pilgrim history for it, in a collection of Winslow Papers, when he saw a better chance in the editing of the manuscript of Bradford if their hopes were realized. Mr. Hunter's discoveries respecting the English part of the Pilgrim field had already made him and Mr. Deane correspondents, and it happened that Mr. Deane just at this moment was preparing to write to this new epistolary acquaintance. It was a resolution easily grasped to make this new suspicion the subject of his letter to Mr. Hunter, and to solicit his mediation with the Bishop of London in order to establish the fact. To lose no time, he authorized Mr. Hunter to secure a careful transcript, if the manuscript proved to be Bradford's; and to aid in determining that point, an original letter of Bradford's was enclosed for comparison of handwriting. At the next meeting of this Society (April, 1855) he reported what he had done in their name, and received their thanks. In August he was enabled to lay the copy which Mr. Hunter had sent before the Society, when he at once began his editorial task. "I was engaged in a conscientious work," he said; and almost every Liverpool packet for some time carried over queries about some word or sentence of the copy, to be verified by the manuscript, — for Mr. Hunter had been allowed by the Bishop to retain the precious document for a while in anticipation of such difficulties.

Mr. Deane was desirous of annotating thoroughly the history; but it had never been the custom of the Society to print original material with such annotations as Judge Davis had supplied to Morton's "Memorial," and as Mr. Savage had bestowed upon Winthrop's Journal. Mr. Savage, who was at this time the President of the Society, favored the traditional habit, and it was only after some delay that it was finally determined that the manuscript should be annotated; but not to the extent to which Mr. Deane would have liked to carry it. The innovation however established a precedent; and no question of the propriety of such elucidatory helps has since been raised in the Society.[1]

It was a widely expressed wish, in later years, that Mr. Deane should recur to this work, and give a new edition with all the amplitude of his erudition in commentary and note. He sometimes spoke to me as if he were inclined to the task, and I know that a publisher stood ready to undertake the issue. Our associate, Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr., in bringing up in 1883 the question of the propriety of reproducing in print the abbreviations and other perplexities common in seventeenth-century manuscripts, referred to the literal manner in which Mr. Deane had printed Bradford, and added: "I have long been urging him to bring out a new edition of the book, with which his name should stand always inseparably connected; and I have urged it not only because we may have a more copious annotation, but also because I want to see Bradford's English in a real seventeenth-century dress," — as the press of that day would have given it. This led Mr. Deane to remark at the close of Mr. Adams's paper: "I should probably go farther than he has gone in claiming for an editor the exercise of a more radical power in adapting such material to the use of modern readers." He goes on elucidating further

[1] This was the first publication of the Society of such general interest that an edition for public sale was deemed desirable. When a few years later he visited Fulham, Mr. Deane took with him a copy of the book in which he had checked certain passages for further verification, and he had an opportunity during several hours to compare them with the manuscript. The result is noted in a copy which he kept for correction, and which is in his own library. The changes are of little importance; but there are a few of some interest in the list of the "Mayflower" passengers, printed at the end of the narrative. This corrected copy also bears the following memoranda: "1856, Monday, May 12. A few copies came from the binder. Tuesday, May 20, a notice of the book in some of the public papers. Wednesday, May 21, the book published by Little, Brown, & Co."

his editorial canons: "I directed that an exact transcript of the Bradford manuscript should be made, being very desirous to secure a correct text. On receiving it I found that it not only abounded in abbreviated words, but that many words as spelled out by the writer were spelled quite differently from any examples to be found in printing-offices in England in Bradford's time. Bradford had a spelling of his own. To words of Latin origin that came into our language through the French he would give a French termination, but his peculiarities were not confined to words such as these. If I had attempted to spell out Bradford's abbreviations, I might have been at a loss in some instances, though I apprehend not many, to know how to spell them, — that is to say, to know how Bradford would have spelled them. In some manuscripts the difficulty here would be serious, as it involves the question how to deal with the writings of the ignorant and illiterate."

We have an instance of what he means in this last statement in one of the papers which he prints in the Trumbull Papers, where in referring to the paper he says: "It was written by a very illiterate hand, and it seems hazardous to meddle with its orthography or punctuation. We therefore print the paper *verbatim et literatim*, and leave it to the reader to make out its meaning."

In concluding these remarks occasioned by Mr. Adams's paper Mr. Deane said: "There can be no difference of opinion as to the duty of an editor to retain the language, that is, the words of a writer, however awkward the form may be in which they are preserved." He enlarges in another place on what he believed to be the function of an editor. It is in the preface to Smith's "True Relation," where he says: "Where the meaning of the author has been obscured or perverted by the defective print, or where he has himself failed to express his thoughts clearly, I have ventured to make suggestions in the notes. Where the meaning is apparent at once to the intelligent reader, notwithstanding the defects in punctuation and in the grammatical construction of the sentences, I have usually left the page without comment." [1]

[1] Mr. Deane, in a review of Veazie's edition of Calef and Mather's "Wonders of the Invisible World," which he printed in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," March 24, 1865, showed his scrutiny of the non-observance of proper editorial canons. There were two reprints of this article, in separate and sumptuous form,

Mr. Deane never had the opportunity again of doing a like conspicuous service to the student of Pilgrim history, although in 1863 he printed some descriptive verses of Governor Bradford from the original manuscript, and in 1870 he printed in the Society's Proceedings a dialogue in which Bradford had marked some changes in the religious life and feelings, as between what he denominates "old men and young men." Mr. Deane's library contained one of the very few copies which are known of the sermon which Elder Cushman delivered at Plymouth in 1621; and when a photo-lithograph facsimile of the little tract was published in 1870, Mr. Deane supplied the preface. In 1871 he brought forward a letter of Sir John Stanhope, which threw a little light on the early history of Elder Brewster. In 1873 he was a guest at one of the celebrations in connection with the monument to Miles Standish in Duxbury, and the printed record of the meeting contains a report of a speech which he made.

His interest in everything touching the leaders of the Pilgrims or which concerned the Colony's history never waned; and there was no limit to the sympathy which he felt with the late Dr. Dexter in his studies respecting their life and condition in England and Holland. He never failed to attend any commemoration of their deeds, and I have wandered with him over the scenes of their pleasures and trials. I went with him once to Plymouth in company with a group of Harvard students, who wished to traverse the fields of the Pilgrim activity. He was the one to whom everybody listened, as in the Court House, with the early records spread before the eager youths, or at Pilgrim Hall or upon the Burial Hill he told the story which each document or scene suggested. A few years ago, when it devolved upon me to deliver the anniversary address at Duxbury in commemoration of the town's incorporation in 1637, he followed with me every step in the preparation of the paper, with the same care and eagerness as if he had been the chosen speaker. In the last years of his life he also took up the story of the Pilgrim days with pleasure. He reported upon the will of Peregrine White, in the Proceedings

for which he was not responsible in either case. One was called No. 1 of a series of Bibliographical Tracts, with a sub-title of "Spurious Reprints of Early Books" (no second number was issued); and who was responsible for the other edition he never knew.

of November, 1886; he edited the records of the Old Colony Club, whose formation antedated the Revolution, in October, 1887. In December, 1888, he revived much of his interest in the hulk of the old ship which was found buried in the sand of Cape Cod, twenty-five years before, and which had engaged his attention at that time as in all probability that of a vessel named the "Sparrow-hawk" wrecked on the Cape in the Pilgrim days. He took satisfaction in finding that his renewed attention to the hulk, which had been lost sight of for many years, resulted in the remains finding a permanent place in the building of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth. (Proceedings, December, 1888.) I have seen him handle many of his books tenderly; but he always seemed to be reverent in his aspect when he took down from his shelves Edwin Sandys's "State of Religion" (1605) and laid before a visitor the page on which John Robinson, the Pilgrims' pastor, had inscribed his name; for besides the sanctification of that autograph, he was fond of drawing attention to certain passages in the book which might have been the prototypes of parts of Robinson's Farewell Address at Delfthaven.

Mr. Deane's interest in the elder colony, on the James River, might almost mate that which he felt for the Pilgrim history; and perhaps upon no one character had he bestowed more thought than upon Captain John Smith, who served him as a sort of link to connect the early puritan and separatist history of North Virginia — become, by Smith's naming, New England — with the cavalier story of the Chesapeake region. I think that he felt he had more closely connected his name with that of Smith than with any other historical character. When Edward Arber issued his edition of Smith's works in 1884, he spoke of Mr. Deane as one "who had done more than any man living to perpetuate the name and fame of Captain John Smith"; and referring to his own efforts, Mr. Arber added that "Mr. Deane was the proper person to have brought out this collected edition of Captain Smith's works."

The first public indication of his interest in Smith grew out of some correspondence which he had with Mr. Lenox respecting the maps which Smith had given in his books on Virginia and New England, in which the joint efforts of these two scholars were directed to establish the sequence of the dif-

ferent editions of the maps, and to associate their publication with the particular tracts to which they belonged, inasmuch as the subject had become much obscured by the way in which dealers had shifted the maps in copies of different tracts, made up for the eyes of collectors. It was necessary to find copies of these tracts so far as was possible in their original bindings; and this involved a wide examination of libraries. Both gentlemen used Norton's "Literary Gazette" as the medium of their communications. This was in 1854.

In 1856, when Dr. George H. Moore drew the attention of scholars to the fact that Anderson, in his "Church of England in the Colonies," had also used the Bradford manuscript, this book served also to bring into notice Anderson's reference to another manuscript, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Lambeth, which had before been unknown to students of early Virginia history, though it was evident that Purchas had used such a paper. Mr. Deane, attracted by what Anderson had said, after "some delay and some difficulties surmounted," procured a transcript, which he intended to edit at his convenience; but being put on the Publication Committee of the American Antiquarian Society, he laid it before that body at the October meeting in 1859, and in presenting it for their consideration, he outlined the argument, which tended, as the record runs, "to show that the story of Pocahontas, as commonly received, was probably apocryphal." This was the first intimation that the favorite romance of American history, the saving of Smith's life by Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, had been put to a critical test. The latest explorer of the secrets of the early Virginia history, Mr. Alexander Brown, referring to Mr. Deane's questioning of the statements which Smith had embodied in the "Generall Historie," so at variance with that author's earlier presentations, speaks of those who had before this questioned Smith's veracity, but adds that "Dr. Deane was the first to suggest an intelligent analysis of his writings for freeing our early history from the meshes of his fable." It was by a process of critical analysis and comparison, with the aid of reflected light from other sources, that Mr. Deane, in studying Wingfield's "Discourse," the manuscript found at Lambeth, made that romantic story the crucial test of Smith's veracity,

—an argument which he further strengthened when a few years later he returned to the subject, while editing Smith's "True Relation."

The result of Mr. Deane's criticism probably warrants the statement of Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, in his "History of American Literature," when he says that "this pretty story has now lost historical credit, and is generally given up by critical students of our early history." Judge Washburn, at a meeting of the Antiquarian Society a few years after that Society had published the "Discourse" of Wingfield, under Mr. Deane's supervision, spoke of the "iconoclastic severity of research of one of our most industrious and infallible members, who has demolished at a blow the image of female courage and devotion which has so long emblazoned the name of Pocahontas."

It is a question, however, if Mr. Deane himself could have been considered as claiming the accomplishment of so thorough a demolition. He professes no more than "to *suggest* that this story is one of the embellishments with which Smith's later works were sometimes adorned." While the view which he advanced is extremely probable, it lacks the final proof, and is at best a negative argument; which, while it has commended itself to writers like Henry Adams, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Alexander Brown, and has been pushed farther by Edward D. Neill, has not convinced, on the other hand, some of the upholders of a faith in Smith, particularly in Virginia itself, where William Wirt Henry and others have contended for the favorite belief.

Mr. Deane's edition of Wingfield was published in the Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society in 1860; and a small edition (one hundred copies) was published separately by the editor, in the same year, some earlier impressions which bear the date of 1859 having been "cancelled because of a few errors," and even copies which had been distributed were recalled.

From the time that Mr. Deane published his "True Relation" down to 1885, when he reverted to the Pocahontas story in the "Magazine of American History" (vol. xiii.), he published nothing more on the topic; and he said in this last paper that his views had excited an attention which he had never anticipated. "Much," he says, "has been written

during the last twenty-five years on both sides of the question. Some of the criticisms, which early met my eye, by Southern writers opposed to my view were temperate in spirit and excellent in taste; but I sometimes felt that the authors of them were not fully informed on the subject, — that the bibliography of the case had not been mastered. On the other hand several newspaper articles which were sent to me were discourteous and passionate in tone, while others were personally abusive," styling him, as he said, a "ruthless Yankee," who had rifled "our very history of its choicest traditions."

In this last paper Mr. Deane expresses himself as particularly pleased with Mr. Henry Adams's paper in the "North American Review" (January, 1867), because he found it an admirable presentation of the whole question, giving a comparison of Smith's earlier and later statements throughout in a very effective manner, and "showing how little reliance could be placed on the redoubtable captain as a truthful narrator of events, particularly in his later works, where his vanity and strong love of the marvellous disposed him to garnish the stories of his early adventures."

When the Civil War broke out, a few months after the publication of his Wingfield, bringing as it did a cessation to the community of interest which he had established with some of the Virginian antiquarians, this disruption of friendly relation was added to his regrets as a patriot to make the beginning of hostilities to him a painful event. Nothing, however, of sentiment, friendly or agreeable, could swerve him from his devotion to his duty as a citizen; and he never forgot the part which the Republican party did in restoring the national unity, and remained steadfast in his allegiance to it, in later years, when many of his associates thought that its usefulness had passed.

The campaign on the Potomac brought back to him the associations of the early history of that region; and in October, 1864, he read to the Antiquarian Society a paper on the historic points on the James, connected with the movements of the contending forces.

When the war was over, he returned again to his study of these early tracts of Smith; and the reprints of the "Advertisements for Unexperienced Planters," and "The Description of New England," both issued at Boston in 1865, bear

evidence of his care ; but it was in the next year, 1866, that he bestowed his best care upon a reissue of Smith's "True Relation of Virginia." Mr. Deane approached the consideration of this earliest of all the Virginian published narratives with no abatement of his interest in Smith, notwithstanding his criticism upon his veracity. He still could call him "the master spirit of the Colony," and thought that he was now dealing with a narrative which had been written before he had occasion for "embellishments." It is, he says, "an apparently faithful history of the Colony for the period which it includes. When Captain Smith," he adds, "comes in collision with others in authority in the Colony, some allowance perhaps should be made for his strong prejudices, and it is always well, if possible, to read their versions of the story in connection with his." He referred here to the "Discourse" of Wingfield, in which the latter had defended himself from some of the charges made against him by Smith. His editorial labors upon "The True Relation" brought him again into reciprocal correspondence with Mr. Lenox, on the bibliographical side of his problem ; and he found that scholarly collector the laborious coadjutor in such questions which he always proved himself to be when there was something to receive as well as to give. I have often found Mr. Deane to acknowledge the great helpfulness and exhaustiveness of that gentleman's bibliographical correspondence, and it was some gratification to my friend to know that my own experience with Mr. Lenox could add to his testimony. Something akin to the help which Mr. Lenox was to him on that side, was the assistance which Mr. Bancroft afforded him on the purely historical side in opening his stores of manuscripts on early Virginia history, derived from the English State Paper Office.

Mr. Deane's editorial work did not fail of recognition. Professor Tyler referred to its admirable manner, its fulness of learning, and its great accuracy.

Mr. Deane was now on the eve of seeing for himself the treasures, of record and print, with which his labors had made him familiar. At the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, in April, 1866, Mr. Haven, the librarian, and Mr. Deane were chosen to represent the Society at an Archæological Congress to be held in Antwerp ; and later our associate,

Dr. Peabody, was joined to the delegation. They sailed on June 6 ; and though their main purpose was not effected on account of the postponement of the Congress for a year, the trip was far from a barren one. He made a very full record of his movements and observations in a file of letters which his family preserve ; and some of those, in whole or in part, which he addressed to the President of the Historical Society were printed in its Proceedings. Dr. Peabody has also furnished some memoranda. "We stayed," he says, "two or three days at Chester, where Mr. Deane of course found great delight. At Oxford it was vacation; but Mr. Deane made the acquaintance of Mr. Coxe, of the Bodleian Library, and received various civilities from him." It was at the Bodleian that he saw the extremely rare original edition (1588) of Hariot's "Newfoundland of Virginia," which he had only known in the text of Hakluyt and De Bry, and I am not sure that Mr. Lenox at this time did not possess the only copy which I know of in America. Another book which greatly interested him was the 1620 edition of Smith's "New Englands Trials"; and he wrote home of it that there was no copy known in the United States, — though he himself possessed the somewhat enlarged edition of 1622. He found the Bodleian copy to differ a little from that in the British Museum ; and from a transcript of it, which Mr. Coxe procured for him, he caused it to be reprinted in our Proceedings in 1873.[1]

"At London," says Dr. Peabody, "we lodged in Norfolk Street. We had kind attentions from Mr. Adams, our minister, and from Mr. Morse, our consul. Mr. Deane spent a good deal of time on antiquarian matters with Mr. Henry Stevens and Mr. Parker."

In a letter to his family (July 1), Mr. Deane speaks of an excursion to Greenwich as follows : —

"We went to dine, by invitation, with a club of gentlemen called the Noviomagians, — all being members of the Society of Antiquaries. The President of the club is Mr. S. C. Hall; both he and Mrs. Hall were present. I understand the origin of the club to be this : There was an old Roman station in England called Noviomagus, but its location is unknown. This society was formed with the plan of discovering

[1] He also printed a private edition of fifty copies.

its site, and they meet once a month at different places with the ostensible purpose of investigation. The truth is, they meet to have a dinner and a good time."

While in London he examined at the Public Record Office what there is remaining of the Records of the Council for New England; and he was not so successful as he had hoped to be from an inspection of Captain Newport's "Discovery," in solving the mooted question of its authorship. At Lambeth he inspected the manuscript of Wingfield's "Discourse." At Guildhall he was delighted to find among the antiquities a form of pipe, common in the early half of the seventeenth century, which corresponded exactly with the shape of one which was discovered in the wreck of the old ship at Cape Cod; and its corresponding shape went a great way to satisfy him of the antiquity of that hulk. He went to St. Sepulchre's to look upon the burial-place of Captain Smith, with none of the scepticism that has since been raised regarding the identity of the spot; but he was disappointed to find a carpet between his tread and the slab upon which so many visitors have traced the three Turks' heads. But his visit to Fulham was his chief enjoyment. He saw and handled the precious manuscript of Bradford, as the present writer did at a later day. He was delighted to find in it a fly-leaf inscription in Prince's hand, which had escaped the attention of Hunter, and which added to the history of the document; and he found two other volumes of manuscripts which, by the book-plates in them, had likewise been taken from the Prince Library, — the former repository of the Bradford. He also, as already stated, made a partial verification of his own printed text.[1] In the interval since it was first brought to the attention of American scholars, no one from the land of its origin had seen it. Two years after Mr. Deane had published it, Dr. John Waddington, giving a lecture in Southwark (1858), had exhibited it to his audience,

[1] Mr. Deane made two visits to Fulham, — the first was to a garden party given by the Bishop, when he merely glanced at the Bradford manuscript and made arrangements for a more careful examination of it at a later day. On this occasion he spent four hours, "sitting in the same room with a number of young candidates for the ministry who had come to be examined by the Bishop." He declined an invitation to lunch, and lost not a precious minute of the time which he had to give to a collation of the manuscript.

and had said: "So far as we know, not a person now living in the lands of the Pilgrims has ever seen this manuscript. It has been kept at Fulham among the papers of no use to the See. It is not in the catalogue of the library, and probably is not included in any inventory of the property." The reverend gentleman then urges that steps be taken for its return to New England. Two years after this (1860), Mr. Deane's friend, the then President of this Society, had represented that the Prince of Wales, in his proposed visit to the United States, could very gracefully bring it, and so restore it to its former ownership. The necessary interposition of an act of Parliament to accomplish such a transfer stood in the way at that time, as it did some years later, when, at the instance of the present writer, our minister, Mr. Motley, made similar inquiries. I know that Mr. Deane finally shared my own feeling, that it would be better for it to remain where it is; and during a recent second visit which I have paid to Fulham, I was glad to learn of the interest with which it is regarded, and of the steps which the present Bishop is taking to put the muniments and other manuscripts of his diocese in better order.

Mr. Deane made various trips from London, and took in his way at different times some of the interesting regions which the ordinary tourist traverses. But he saw other sights that pleased him more. He was at Althorpe, and saw that private library in all Europe perhaps which offers most allurements to a lover of books. He was at Bawtry, where some friends of Richard Monckton Milnes — afterward Lord Houghton — made it very pleasant for him to visit Scrooby and Austerfield; and he has chronicled this visit to the shrine of Bradford in the preface to his edition of Bradford's Dialogue in our Proceedings in 1870.

"We afterward went to Cambridge," says Dr. Peabody, "but found nobody there that we wanted to see; then to Boston, and you would have to go through Thomson's History of Boston for the list of the spots there which Mr. Deane visited with the searching eye of a practised antiquary, so that to him I owe a more lifelike remembrance of all I saw there than of any other town in England. We went from England to Belgium, thence to Switzerland, and I parted from Mr. Deane at the glacier of the Rhone. All that I can say of him is that he

was as pleasant a fellow traveller and sojourner as ever man could be, and that the intimacy of several weeks only intensified every impression as to his sterling worth, his genuine kindness, and his breadth of mind and heart that I had formed from previous acquaintance. I think that he fully enjoyed his stay in England. His unfamiliarity with any language but his own seemed to impair his enjoyment of the Continent; for English was not then the universal language which it has now become, and there were various occasions on which Mr. Deane felt the lack of a ready medium of intercourse."

This lack of facility in other tongues was during all his student life an impediment in research which met him in various directions. His scant training in Latin in his youth was not increased by a subsequent college career, as at one time it was expected it would be, and he had to depend on others for the interpretation of the Latin which he found in Peter Martyr, De Bry, and various other of the older sources; and it was a particular regret to him that he was balked in this way in his study of the inscriptions on the Cabot *mappemonde*, which was for many years a theme for his investigations. It was about the only thing on the Continent that he saw upon which he could bring to bear the great stress of his historical learning. He inspected it in the great library at Paris, and made a friendship over it with one of the officers of the library that led to a later correspondence.[1] But these impediments were not unsurmountable, and he spared no pains or expense in getting the services of the best experts in unravelling the intricacies of debased Latin and archaic Spanish and Italian. There is an evidence of this in the paper on these same inscriptions which he left unfinished at his death, but which he intrusted to the hands of Mr. C. C. Smith. It has since been communicated to our Proceedings (1891).

Late in the season of 1866 he returned to America, and was able, at the meeting of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester in October, to render some account of his trip.

[1] In a letter of September 5 he speaks of finding exposed for sale on the Quai Voltaire a copy of Jomard's facsimile of the Cabot map; and from the dealer on the Quai he got his first clew to the repository of the original in the Bibliothèque Impériale, where the next day he had the satisfaction of inspecting it and making memoranda from it for future use.

This account of his European experience has interrupted the story of his devotion to Virginia history. Mention has already been made of the interest with which he observed a rare copy of one of Smith's books which he saw in the Bodleian. In the London Society of Antiquaries he had been interested in what he could glean of Smith from a broadside prospectus of his "Generall Historie" (1624), and in the Public Record Office he had seen Smith's letter to Lord Bacon, and by the favor of Mr. Henry Adams, then secretary to his father, the American minister in London, he had procured a copy of Smith's will, which he communicated to the Proceedings of our Society in January, 1867. We find also in the same volume a communication upon Bacon's "Rebellion on the James."

In 1872 he accompanied Mr. Haven on a trip through the Southern States; and he did not fail to make it an opportunity of comparing the copy of the records of the Virginia Company which is preserved in Richmond with another which he had seen in Washington.

I well remember, in the later years of his life, when he received a letter from a retired student in Virginia, who had been made familiar with all that Mr. Deane had done for Virginia history, while in the country, away from libraries. Depending on his own exertions, this gentleman had been studying, with little intercourse with kindred spirits, the earliest history of the movement for settling Virginia. He had come to a stand for want of access to some of the rarest of the early tracts, and he knew they were in Mr. Deane's library. He wrote to him, telling his straightforward story, to ask if he might borrow them. His letter showed that he had no ordinary curiosity. His manner easily convinced one that he knew whereof he was writing. Mr. Deane was struck with one of his pleas for the favor; and I trust that the gentleman will pardon me, if this memoir chances to fall under his eye, for mentioning it. He had served in the Confederate forces, and was in Fort Fisher at the time the Federal commander sought to demolish that stronghold by the explosion near it of a heavily stored powder-boat. Mr. Deane's correspondent said that about the only mischief which the explosion did was to damage the drums of his ears so severely that he had hardly heard anything since, and that this barrier to social intercourse had had

something to do with his devotion to historical studies. He moreover thought the North owed him something for what had been inflicted upon him!

No man loved his books more tenderly than Mr. Deane; and I know that on more than one occasion when I have been with him on journeys from Cambridge, a thought for the safety of his books which he had left behind, was not far from his mind. He told the Society once, in speaking of his acquaintance with Dr. Kohl, while that gentleman was living in Cambridge, how he lent "armfuls of books" to him; and once when the Doctor was leaving his house, "he slung a large package of books over his shoulder like a travelling pack, and trudged off with them in a drifting snowstorm, making me almost tremble for my precious volumes." In his memoir of Mr. Livermore he again shows what a solicitude he had about the ordinary treatment of books. He said of his friend, —

> "He knew how to open a book without breaking its back, and to turn over its leaves so that its owner would not tremble. There is a knack in all this, known only to the true lover of books, — to him who reverences not merely the author, or the author's thoughts, but the concrete object before him."

There was a struggle between his kindly feelings for his new-found sympathizer in Virginia and his thoughts of the dangers which his treasures might encounter on the transit or by accident in distant service. I left him one evening debating upon his duty. The next day he told me he had sent the books; and he never regretted the assistance which he had given in this and in many other ways to the author of the "Genesis of the United States." Mr. Alexander Brown in his preface says that Mr. Deane "gave his helping hand from the beginning to the end; and his last letter to me," he adds, "is expressive of his interest and great faith in my work." I well know the endeavors which Mr. Deane made to help the author get his manuscript into a shape that the publishers could approve, and the great delight he felt in some developments which researches in the archives at Simancas, conducted in Mr. Brown's interest, had produced in throwing light on the voyage of Pring, it may be, to the New England coast, and the abortive settlement of the Popham Company. In Mr. Brown's book he supplied the note on St. George's fort, in

illustrating the plan which had been found at Simancas. "One would think," he says in this note, "that the walls of so formidable a structure [as delineated on the plan] would have shown something more than a mere ruin after the lapse of only seventeen years"; and then he quotes Maverick's account of it in 1624, where this settler says he "found roots and garden herbs and some old walls." If Mr. Deane could have lived to see Mr. Brown's volumes published, and have longer considered the plan, he might have been conscious that an exaggeration, which he plainly suspected, may possibly have had a purpose, when the plan was put in the hands of the Spanish ambassador in London, of imposing upon the Spanish Court a false notion of its strength. With this interest in Mr. Brown's labors, Mr. Deane closed almost with his life his interest in Virginia history.

In tracing thus his special attention to the stories of the Plymouth and Virginia colonizations, we must not understand that Mr. Deane's studies were bound by such limitations. Every phase of New England history and many of a broader American study engaged at different times his vigilance.

As early as 1850 he printed in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" a manuscript which had come into his hands, going over the devious tracks of the Gorton controversy, which proved to be almost identical with Edward Winslow's defence of Massachusetts, "Hypocrasie Unmasked," against Gorton's attacks in his "Simplicities Defence," both published in 1646. In introducing this paper and others appertaining, he gave an outline of Gorton's puzzling career. In referring to Winslow's book, he speaks of it as of exceeding rarity, and adds: "Two or three copies of the work are now owned here [one was in his own library]; and as it contains much valuable matter, it should be reprinted." The urgency of a reprint is as strong now as then.

Few of our students have been more familiar with the older chroniclers of Massachusetts than Mr. Deane. He had a great admiration for the historical work of Hutchinson. In a little essay on the bibliographical questions connected with Hutchinson's history, which he printed first in the "Historical Magazine," and later in an improved shape in our Proceedings

for February, 1857, he says: "To the curious and critical Hutchinson will always have a value; but to the student who seeks for the sources of our history, his work will always be indispensable"; and thirty years later, when he had occasion to review the writers on New England history, he spoke of Hutchinson as having "a genius for history."

In 1860 he brought another of the old writers under review, while calling attention to the sections of the diary of Cotton Mather, which are preserved in the cabinets of the Historical and Antiquarian Societies. He says: —

"The Journal of Cotton Mather has not been published, although extracts have been made from it from time to time, and perhaps exceptions might be made to certain parts of it as improper, useless, and uninteresting; and yet we think that much of it and perhaps the larger portion would be found to be valuable and full of interest. Although there is a great deal about himself, his illuminations, his resolves, and his struggles, the special providences by which he was surrounded and upheld, yet these furnish in many respects a good illustration of the faith and religious condition of that period. Taken as a whole the diary is a psychological curiosity, and gives an excellent index to his character. There is beside a sufficient reference to public characters and events to make the work valuable in a strictly historical point of view."

Two years later he drew from these fragmentary journals such of the entries as shed light upon the curious work best associated with Mather's name, his "Magnalia," and published his results in our Proceedings for December, 1862. This "Magnalia" was a book often in his hands; and he rendered a service to many a possessor of the original edition by adding to such copies, what they usually lacked, — a list of errata, which he had printed in facsimile for his own copy. After many years' experience in the use of that book he was ready to bear testimony to the vast amount of historical material which rendered it an indispensable accompaniment of every library in New England history, notwithstanding its vagaries and inaccuracies.

Mather had omitted from the "Magnalia" an extended life of Governor Dudley, which he had prepared, substituting for it a brief statement. In 1858 his longer memoir came into Mr. Deane's hand in a modern transcript; but he could not be

induced to print it without reference to the original manuscript. At a later day this original — not indeed in Mather's hand — came to the Society among some Dudley papers; and our Proceedings for January, 1870, preserve it to us with the advantage of Mr. Deane's scrutinizing oversight.

Notwithstanding the secondary character of Hubbard as an historian, Mr. Deane took a peculiar pleasure in seeing that the Society's early reprint (1815) of his history, which had been made from an imperfect copy, was completed; and when he laid the recovered pages of the book before the Society in February, 1878, he prefaced them with a statement which told the story.

In 1862 he conducted an amicable controversy, before the Historical Society, with the late Colonel Aspinwall on the genuineness of the Narragansett Patent, which was granted, as was professed by the magistrates of Massachusetts, in 1643. Shrouded in mystery, as Mr. Deane allowed the document to be, and inducing a conflict of jurisdiction, it was characteristic of his umpiring as a judge of historic probabilities, not to allow a document to be fraudulent or a forgery, if the way was not rendered thereby clearer to a final settlement of doubts. He would not abandon confidence in a paper simply to increase the perplexity of a question. He always seemed to have a personal interest in seeing any historical controversy brought to an ultimate decision. "I always like to see historical questions settled," he said on this occasion. "It would be gratifying in many respects to be able to concur in all these statements; but I am not quite able to do so"; and no emphasis of contrary asseveration could have carried greater weight. I remember the particular delight he felt, when in 1881 he received one of Henry Stevens's catalogues, and found in it the evidence that Ferdinando Gorges was not accountable for the insertion among his father's tracts of Johnson's "Wonder-working Providence," which with later writers had brought upon the son some severe condemnation. He had himself considered the suspicious circumstances in a review of Mr. Poole's edition of Johnson's book, in the "North American Review" in 1868. He felt that he had done a duty to a maligned innocent when he cited the proof that freed the memory of the younger Gorges of the charge.

In 1865 he gave a certain dignity at the outset to the Prince

Society in editing their initial reprint of Wood's "New Englands Prospect."

In the year after his return from Europe the American Antiquarian Society profited by his researches there in the publication which he made in their Proceedings (April, 1867) of the Records of the Council for New England, bringing to its elucidation of his abundant knowledge; and at a later day, in October, 1875, he was pleased to be able to add farther to the elucidation. The studies for this naturally conducted him afresh to the methods which obtained in the early days, through which legal possession was acquired in the soil of New England. He was never steadier in perception or riper in judgment than when he read, in December, 1869, his paper on "The Forms used in issuing Letters Patent by the Crown of England." It was a question involving large historical knowledge and not a little legal aptitude; and he made no failure in marshalling in his own mind side by side the historical elements of the question from his own resources, and the legal side from his conferences with the highest authorities which our Massachusetts Bar could offer. He did it in a way that drew forth the commendation of Judge Parker. He had no unvarying pride of opinion, though he clung to his opinions as long as he could. He had, in the paper that first drew upon him the attention of leading members of this Society, sided with those who have granted to Endicott the honor of being the first governor of Massachusetts. His more mature opinion led him to other conclusions in this paper of 1869.

I hardly remember more than two historical controversies, among the many which had engaged his attention, in which Mr. Deane showed more grief than impatience at wrong-headedness. The first of these was the effort which for some years was made by some strenuous disciples of local pride in Maine — his own State — to rehabilitate the fame of the abortive Popham Colony with all the concomitants of a settled and fruitful purpose, with the aim of proving it the parent colony of New England. He watched their deliberate endeavors for some years, more with wonder than with pain, and only in the effort to make a crowning demonstration in 1871 did he enter his protest; and he later embodied his views in a report of his remarks which were printed in the "Boston Daily Advertiser" of Sept. 2, 1871.

The other controversy was the more recent one, which grew out of the stand which this Society took in 1880, when the attempt was made to accentuate the alleged geographical certainties of the Icelandic Sagas in erecting the statue of a Northman in Boston. His words were sober. "To elevate these sagas," he said, "to the dignity of historical relations with their details, and to put implicit reliance on their data as to time and place, seems to me unwarrantable. They are shadowy and mystical in form, and often uncertain in meaning."

If the Popham question had been one where the affirmative contestants had yielded in a certain sense to State pride, the character and acts of Roger Williams have usually banded together as his advocates the writers of Rhode Island, and given to the defenders of Massachusetts a solid rank of censors more or less warm in their feelings. No man looked his own side more squarely in the face when he thought it should quail, than Mr. Deane did. He recognized the overbearing ardor of the Massachusetts people when their interests came in conflict with those of their weaker neighbors; and more than once he bore testimony to his faith in what in one of his earliest writings, quoting from Polybius, he called the eye of history, — truth. But as a student of the world's stages of progress, he failed to see how the action of Roger Williams, in endeavoring to upset the common polity of his time, could be suffered in any self-respecting community which was making a struggle for existence, as the Bay Colony in those days was; and in a paper which he read to this Society, in February, 1873, he might well maintain that Williams, in trying to invalidate the royal grants, "flew in the face of the public law of the world at that time." [1]

Mr. Deane took much satisfaction in the publications of Hakluyt, — he possessed the original editions of all his books, — and I have often seen them at his side as he was working in his study. His interest in all that related to the claims of England to the northern continent — claims derived from the voyages of the Cabots, father and son — and his study of the urgency of the friends of English colonization often took him to the collections of their great champion.

[1] He had already touched the question in his notice of the first volume — Williams's "Key" — of the publications of the Narragansett Club, in the "North American Review," April, 1868.

Hakluyt's volumes were the great starting-point of his interest in the Cabots, and he was led to a study of what records we have to determine the sizes of the little ships of the early voyagers across the Atlantic. He prepared a paper on this subject in 1865, and in October of the same year he spoke to the Antiquarian Society of "the exceedingly meagre and unsatisfactory accounts which have been submitted of the voyages of the Cabots, and suggested," as the records read, "the propriety of the Society's taking measures to have a memoir on that subject prepared." From this time he was looked to as the fittest person to meet expectations on this subject. We have seen that in the next year he studied afresh the Cabot *mappe-monde* of 1544 at Paris; and his interest was quickened by the words which Buckingham Smith had spoken to him of the desirableness of a closer study of its inscriptions; and all this bore fruit in the copy of them which he later procured, and which since his death has been laid before this Society by Mr. Smith. He now procured Jomard's copy of the map, and gave it to the Antiquarian Society in April, 1867. I had been so long conversant with his interest in this subject, and knew so well how closely he had scrutinized Biddle's "Life of Sebastian Cabot," that when it devolved on me, in 1882, to assign the chapter on the Cabots in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," there was no choice, — the assignment was foreordained. It was while he was at work on this — one of the most critically skilful treatises of the book — that we availed together of the visit which Mr. Winthrop was about making to Europe, to engage that gentleman's interposition to secure a full-sized photograph of the map with its marginal inscriptions. I communicated with a few libraries and individuals, and got a circle of ten to share the expense. The reproduction was so successful that the photographer claimed the privilege of exhibiting his work at an exposition then going on in Paris, as embodying the most successful results in so difficult a piece of photography which at that time had been reached. In October, 1882, Mr. Deane had the satisfaction of laying an advanced copy of this photograph before the Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

Meanwhile he had in other ways linked his name with Hakluyt's, as a modern commentator on a manuscript of the

old collector. When Dr. Woods, his friend and the President of Bowdoin College, was in England, not far from the time of Mr. Deane's own visit, he had secured from the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps a copy of a paper by Hakluyt, on "Westerne Planting," in which that writer had come again to the task which he began in his "Divers Voyages" of instilling into the English mind some sense of the opportunities which were offered for securing English supremacy in the northern parts of the New World. The paper was in its nature historical, in enumerating what other nations had done and in showing how there was an opening for English enterprise. Dr. Woods was eager to meet the wishes of the friends of the Maine Historical Society, in procuring some new and striking material for their publications; and the Society was just at this time entering upon a more vigorous career than had before distinguished it. Though this subject was "a comparatively new field of study for Dr. Woods," he entered upon a plan of editing the manuscript with eagerness, and early had recourse to Mr. Deane and his library for help. A few years later, when the body of the text had been stereotyped in Cambridge under the supervision of Mr. Deane, a fire (1873) in the house of Dr. Woods at Brunswick, Maine, destroyed his library, though the rough notes of an intended preface and introduction to the book were saved, while a few other fragments of this performance were in Mr. Deane's hands. The blow levelled at a man no longer robust fell heavily upon Dr. Woods, and it soon became evident that he was unfit to proceed with his task. Mr. Deane was called upon to complete the labor. He worked Dr. Woods's notes and unfinished paragraphs into a continuous narrative, and the joinery with its gaps filled was submitted to Dr. Woods for his approval. This received, the book was published by the Maine Historical Society as "A Discourse concerning Western Planting, written in the year 1584 by Richard Hakluyt, now first printed from a contemporary manuscript, with a preface and an introduction by Leonard Woods, LL.D.; edited with notes in an appendix by Charles Deane (Cambridge, 1877)." The appendix occupies a third of the volume. The task with Dr. Woods living was delicately performed; and when the original editor died, Mr. Deane paid him a kindly tribute, in January, 1879, at a meeting of our Society.

Another result of Dr. Woods's visit to the Phillipps collection had been the procuring of a letter and abstracts of other epistles written by Edward Randolph while he was gaining the designation of being "the evil genius of New England"; and these, together with Randolph's narrative, in a better copy than had been printed in the "Andros Tracts," Mr. Deane communicated to our Society in November, 1880. These were but manifestations of the study which he had long given to the efforts which had been made from time to time by interested persons to vacate the first charter of Massachusetts Bay. When just about this time it fell to the present writer to plan and carry forward a "Memorial History of Boston," in recognition of the completion of two hundred and fifty years since the founding of the city by Winthrop, its editor naturally turned to Mr. Deane to elucidate that long struggle of the Colony, so closely connected with Boston history, to thwart the machinations of the enemies of the Colony, and to preserve its charter. He did the work with extreme care and with patent skill.

When two years later the same editor was called upon to enter into a much larger field of supervision, by bringing nearly forty writers into conjunction, in covering in a monographic and critical fashion the entire range of American history, English, French, Spanish, Dutch, and all else, as well as its aboriginal and archæological aspects, he entered upon the task with the full recognition of the lightening of his labor which he could expect from his nearest neighbor and friend, and with a thorough acquaintance with what he could hope for from Mr. Deane's wonderfully rich library. Such environments did not a little reconcile me to the formidableness of the task. During the eight years while it occupied my attention, I never failed of sympathy and encouragement, and the lawn between our houses had its path which was almost daily trod to his study. He was never so occupied but his pen was laid down, and I was by his kindly manner invited to make my levy upon his manifold resources. It has been a great regret to me that he did not live to see the work completed. The last volume never fell under his scrutiny.

I have already mentioned how I turned to him at once for the elucidation of the Cabot voyages. With equal confidence I assigned to him the section which was to cover the history of

New England down to the Revolution of Andros. The survey which he made in the critical essay, appended to the narrative, of the original as well as secondary sources of that history, took him anew over a ground which was everywhere imprinted with his own footsteps.

He had long studied Massachusetts history on those sides which had elicited strictures on her people and their methods. He stood like a champion where he thought there was justice to be awarded, and he dropped the screen with equal facility if he felt that her people had swerved from the straightest paths. The whole question of her connection with the enslaving of negroes found its culmination for him in the Constitution of 1780, and in the relation of its Bill of Rights to the evil which it was held to eradicate. In 1860 he had been asked to consider the printed report of the Committee which presented a form of constitution for Massachusetts in 1780. He well knew, as every student of our State history does know, how the question of the abolishment of slavery within its borders had from an early date in the last century been the subject of consideration; but "obstacles and embarrassments," especially in the time of the royal governors, stood in the way. In September, 1868, he had laid before the Society a communication, which is still on file at the State House, and which the Legislature of Massachusetts had in 1777 — the year following the Declaration of Independence — prepared for bringing the question to the notice of the Congress at Philadelphia. He well knew that the feeling and the sounding phrase which embodied it — namely, that all men are created equal — was, in those boiling days of emancipation of thought, common enough to fill the air and become the common property of those who were at that time framing bills of rights for the States and a Declaration of Independence for the land. But it was the act which converted these generalities into a deed of enfranchisement which interested Mr. Deane. When, in April, 1874, Chief Justice Gray placed before this Society the note-book of Chief Justice Cushing on the case of the Commonwealth *versus* Jennison, where it was held that such a general sentence in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights had abolished slavery in the State, the question was first raised at our meetings of the tradition which assigned to Judge Lowell, rather than to John Adams, the introduc-

tion of that all-powerful phrase into the Bill of Rights. This led to Mr. Deane's paper on Judge Lowell and the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, in which he traced all these ebullitions of fervor back to the prevailing sentiments which the opening scenes of the Revolution had engendered.

Mr. Deane also contributed, and elucidated with preface and notes, a mass of original papers respecting slavery in Massachusetts, which appeared in the Collections of our Society in 1877.

One of the last of the elaborate papers which Mr. Deane wrote was embodied in the Report of the Council of the Antiquarian Society, October, 1886, in which he reviewed the connection of Massachusetts with the slave-trade and slavery. It had not long before been said in the Senate at Washington, in the heat of political debate, that "Massachusetts was the nursing mother of the horrors of the middle passage." A lawyer who was his neighbor at Cambridge urged Mr. Deane to reply to this hazardous charge; but he declined the task in favor of his friend. Failing health prevented this friend from bringing his studies for a paper to a conclusion, and Mr. Deane finally received from him his incomplete essay. Mr. Deane now entered with thoroughness and insight upon the task of tracing the rise of slavery on the American continent, and of the hand which England bore in creating the traffic in bondmen and making it commercially successful. "The share which Massachusetts had in the planting of slavery in the New World," he said, "was but a drop in the bucket compared with that of England." He made no concealment of the business interests which were promoted by the traffic in Boston and Salem; but from the time of Samuel Sewall, at least, "there was always a protest from the heart of the people against this crime to humanity, which erelong made itself felt as a controlling influence in the community."

The reputation which Mr. Deane has left behind him is that of an historical scholar almost peerless among his American contemporaries, if we separate this condition from that of a writer. He has not associated his name with any great, long-sustained piece of historical writing, but he has raised as a monument of his labors the image of an untiring investigator, a conscientious painstaker in research, and an exemplar for judi-

cial fairness. There was no topic too minute for his thoroughness. He dearly loved to drive the smallest error from the field. It was a pleasure for him to rehabilitate a forgotten fact.

I have often heard him speak of one of the earliest of the minor investigations which he had made. He saved all the scraps, correspondence, and prints respecting it, and had them arranged in a book. He seemed to look upon it as one of the primal indications of his spirit of minute research, and on his death-bed expressed a wish to have that scrap-book placed in the library of our Society, where it now is. An attempt had been made to palm off a portrait of Franklin as that of Roger Williams, and Mr. Deane's purpose had been to expose the deceit. I remember when, many years afterward, the original fraud was again brought to light from the obscurity to which he had consigned it, how his old interest revived as once more he came to the rescue of the truth. He took a similar interest in the deceit which was practised in 1772, when some one employed Paul Revere to engrave a likeness of Charles Churchill, the English poet, which the publisher of the Newport edition of Church's narrative made to pass for a picture of the old Indian fighter by having a powder-horn slung over the poet's shoulders. The fraud had been observed before Mr. Deane referred to it in 1858; but he was not able for many years to put in juxtaposition the exact print from which Revere must have worked. He accidentally discovered it in an old magazine of 1768; and he was led, in February, 1882, to bring the matter afresh before the Historical Society with the completed proof in reproductions of the two engravings.

When Dr. Palfrey was in England he endeavored to discover some document with a perfect copy of the seal of the Council for New England, and Mr. Deane renewed the search at a later day. The only seal known was a fragment patched together which hangs from the patent of Plymouth Colony preserved in the Plymouth archives. As I saw it with Mr. Deane in 1882, I thought two men, one with a bow, could be made out as part of the device. Dr. Palfrey at a much earlier day said it was so broken and defaced that the design was undistinguishable. When that writer issued a new edition of his first volume in 1865, he gave on his titlepage as the seal of the Council the arms which appear on John Smith's map of New

England; and he was led to adopt it by a letter of Mr. Deane's, dated June 10, 1865, which foreshadowed the line of argument in a paper which was printed in the Proceedings of this Society in 1867. The later investigations of Mr. Baxter, of the Maine Historical Society, when he was prompted by another fragment found in the "Trelawny Papers," threw considerable doubt on the correctness of Mr. Deane's earlier reasons; and in the last paper which he wrote touching the subject, he warned his readers of this counter-presentation.

It is hardly necessary to cite all of the small investigations with which Mr. Deane enriched the Proceedings of the Historical and Antiquarian Societies for many years, to increase the evidence that his pertinacity in search was just as conspicuous in small as in great matters. It will be seen in his communications regarding Phillis Wheatley (1863 and 1864); in his supplying (1864) the historical associations of an inscribed plate found at Castine, commemorating a Capuchin mission there in 1648, while the late Charles Folsom supplied the philological test; in his comments (1866) on John Wheelwright's Fast Day sermon of 1636–1637; in his paper on Washington's headquarters at Cambridge (September, 1872); in one on the ancient rules of Harvard College (1876); in another on an indenture of David Thomson, a contribution (1876) to the early history of Piscataqua; in his remarks on the genuineness of the Verrazano letter before the Antiquarian Society, in January, 1876; in the part which he took (1877–1878) in the lively controversy over the identity of the belfry where Paul Revere hung his lantern on the eve of the affairs at Lexington and Concord; in his introduction to Dr. Belknap's Journal of his tour (1876); in that to his edition (1878) of the Journal of the President and Council of New Hampshire; in his remarks (1878) on the diary of Henry Flynt, the old college tutor; in his comments (1880) on the petition for a grant of land from Roger Conant in his old age; in his eager recital (1883) about what remains of the old American library of White-Kennett; in his story (1885) of the kidnapping by the old navigator Waymouth in 1605 of Indians on the Maine coast; and in the curious researches which he made to establish the priority of the two editions of the map of New England in Hubbard's History (1887–1888).

No one knew better than Mr. Deane what the perils of

investigation are, and how a tendency to jump at conclusions must be resisted. In reading the reports of some of the papers on anthropology read at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Chicago in 1868, his historic sense had been wronged by some of their hasty processes; and he took occasion, in preparing the Report of the Council of the Antiquarian Society in that year, to draw attention to this unsteady tendency. "Men must be trained," he said, "to be careful observers of facts, without which no system can stand. It is natural for the human mind to ask questions and to form theories upon such new facts presented to it, and, indeed, in this way is knowledge increased, and true science finally attained; but the difficulty is that in all investigations of this nature there are those who assume the facts to be proved, and then proceed to construct crude theories upon them." Nor did he undervalue the labor of all good work. I remember how on a visit which I made with him to Plymouth in company with a number of young students, he surprised us all, when we sat in the hotel parlor waiting for our dinner, after we had been the rounds of the sights in the town, by taking from his pocket half a dozen of the little thin tracts illustrating the early history of the Pilgrims, which he had brought from his own shelves. He took them one by one and explained their value, and showed how it was by arduous critical analysis and by comparison of statements that the truth was worked out. He felt that the layman had no conception of this, when he read the finished paper of the historian. He expressed himself upon this point in what he said upon the death of Mr. Frothingham: "Persons not familiar with investigations of this nature are not aware of the amount of labor involved; the mass of documents to be collected, read, and digested, — such as orderly books [he was referring to Mr. Frothingham's particular field of study], letters, depositions, newspapers, old half-effaced records, — from these to sift out the evidence, arrange it, and bring order out of chaos: all this is no ordinary labor." He was also fond of referring to that sort of microscopical inquiry without which sometimes important bibliographical decision could not be reached. He was never quite content with a book that was in any way cardinal in such investigations, unless he could find a copy in the original binding. "Books are

robbed of their integrity," he said at one time; "and those volumes for which the robbery is made, owing to ignorance or indifference, are often supplied with illustrations — maps and plates — which do not belong to them. This is an evil greatly to be deplored, for historical investigation is often thwarted by the existence of such books." He kept a good array of dictionaries and glossaries at his side, and I have known him stop to trace the archaic use of a word upon which some historical elucidation depended. I remember once he took me into his counsels to determine whether the word "church" in a certain connection meant the edifice or the body of worshippers. "Misapprehension and errors arise," he said, "by not paying sufficient attention to the meaning of words and terms as they are found in old books."

His honesty in research was unimpeachable. No matter what his preconceived notions, his local pride, his friendly interest, his national predilections, they all stood for nothing in his quest for the truth. There is a conspicuous example of this kind of historical bravery in the paper — on the Convention of Saratoga, between Gates and Burgoyne, and the way in which the American Congress observed its terms — which he gave to the Antiquarian Society in 1877.

All these traits could but give him the highest position as an historical student with all who had occasion to track him in his work. Mr. Winthrop, in his oration at Plymouth in 1870, did not give him too high praise when he placed him almost above all others, for the light he had thrown upon the early history of New England; and Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., in his editing of Morton's "New English Canaan," while citing a production of Mr. Deane's, is not likely to be criticised for saying that "in dealing with the sources of history it is only permissible to refer to contemporaneous authorities." "Mr. Deane, however," he adds, "so far as New England history is concerned, may fairly be made an exception to this rule. His knowledge is so exhaustive, and his accuracy is so great, that a reference to him I consider just as good and as permissible as a reference to the original authorities."

Mr. Deane was a man of strong friendships, and in his later years he liked to recall his old friends. He looked back upon his intimacy with George Livermore as having almost a for-

mative influence upon him. His intercourse with Mr. Livermore went back to about 1844, and it was one of the earliest of those which he formed on the ground of intellectual sympathies. He was attracted toward his friend, as he afterward recorded, "by his loving and genial nature, his general intelligence, his historical tastes, and his great love for books." For many years he and Mr. Livermore were accustomed to make an annual visit together to the patriarchal Josiah Quincy at his country home; and he speaks, in his memoir of Mr. Livermore (1869), of his friend's "almost romantic admiration for the heroic qualities" of their host.

Mr. Edward A. Crowninshield was another of these early friends; but at his death, in 1859, Mr. Deane failed of an opportunity to acquire some memorial of him from his library, because it was sold as a whole and went to Europe. It was not long, however, before two much desired and extremely rare books returned to this country, and found their way into Mr. Deane's library. These were books that he often showed with satisfaction, — Elder Cushman's Sermon, delivered at Plymouth in 1621; and the 1582 edition of Hakluyt. At a much later date (1880), Mr. Deane wrote a brief memoir of his friend for our Proceedings.

Another early friend was the late Mr. John Russell Bartlett, who was a bookseller in New York, when about 1846 he and Mr. Deane became acquainted. At a later day, when Mr. Bartlett was the custodian of the great Carter-Brown library in Providence, that collection became a new bond of common interest between them.

It was in October, 1849, that Mr. Savage, then President of this Society, welcomed Mr. Deane into the communion of its members. Mr. Savage was then preparing his great Dictionary; and a file of letters among Mr. Deane's papers shows the constancy of the great genealogist's new friend in his efforts to help the elder student in his work. When in March, 1873, Mr. Deane recalled the Society as it was at the time of his becoming a member, of the fifty-eight upon its roll at the time of his own election only eighteen were living at Mr. Savage's death. Mr. Deane, in his remarks on this commemoration of their former president, tersely put his impressions of his old friend and his almost oppressive spirit of accuracy: "He always meant to be right: he always felt that

he was right; he took nothing upon trust." In 1874 he prepared a brief notice of Mr. Savage for the Transactions of the American Academy.

The death of Mr. Haven, in 1881, came very near to Mr. Deane. At a meeting of the Antiquarian Society in October of that year, he spoke more at length of the loss than he was accustomed to do on such occasions. "A feeling of sadness sometimes comes over me at these annual gatherings," he said, "occasioned by the absence from time to time of familiar faces. One by one they vanish, and the places that knew them know them no more. It is now more than twenty-five years since I first began to attend these meetings, having been elected a member here thirty years ago this day; and the Boston members — Mr. Folsom, Mr. Livermore, Mr. Frothingham, and Dr. Shurtleff, all of whom, alas! have passed on — always regarded the 21st of October as a red-letter day in their calendar, and came up hither as on a sacred pilgrimage. For a number of years we always met here, and received a cordial welcome from the venerable Governor Lincoln, Judge Barton, Judge Chapin, Judge Thomas, and others whom I need not name." In 1885 Mr. Deane contributed a memoir of Mr. Haven to the Proceedings of our Society. Of Mr. Frothingham, whom he thus recalled, he had spoken to us on the announcement of his death in February, 1880, and printed a memoir in the "Proceedings" of February, 1885. There were two others of our members of whom Mr. Deane could write with full knowledge; and these were Dr. Appleton, whom he commemorated in 1877, and Dr. Robbins, who claimed the tribute in 1882.

Another Cambridge friend of the days before the war was one in whose labors he and I had a common interest; and he spoke to me more frequently of him, perhaps, than of most others whom he had known in the earlier part of his career, because of my own studies in the same field. This was Dr. Kohl, who did in Cambridge a considerable part of his work on the treatises which he prepared for the Coast Survey touching early discoveries along the American coasts. He had depended not a little, as his work proceeded, on Mr. Deane's encouragement and assistance, and on the help which he derived from the unmatched collection of maps in the College Library. At a later day, when he recalled how the financial troubles of 1857

made the government indisposed to go on with the task of illustrating the early discoveries through Dr. Kohl's instrumentality, he spoke of the good German's distress of mind at being thus checked in his work, and said that his friend returned to Germany almost broken-hearted. "His beautiful maps, some of which I have seen at Washington, are now uncared for; and it is only by a knowledge of these old and useless maps [as he described the originals of Kohl's copies] that the history of geography and discovery can be written." It was by sharing these views of the value of such cartographical records, that while engaged in kindred studies I was brought into conferences about them with Mr. Deane at different times, and finally determined to make an examination of Kohl's work. Mr. Deane had referred to it in a report to the Antiquarian Society in 1860, and he had expressed a hope that the results of Kohl's investigations, as they existed in his elaborate copies of old maps and in the treatises accompanying them, — one of which had come into the possession of that Society, — might not be lost to the world. Later in October, 1869, the same Society sought to initiate measures to induce the government to publish these memorials; but Mr. Deane, knowing how the science of historical cartography had then begun to grow rapidly, and aware, from the correspondence which he kept up with Dr. Kohl, that that gentleman had himself outgrown some of his early studies, urged that nothing should be published till Dr. Kohl had had the opportunity to revise his work. Nothing, however, was done; and in 1878 it became Mr. Deane's duty to speak in his memory at a meeting of this Society, when he read from the last letter which he had received from that German geographer.

Now that no chance of revision was possible by their author, arrangements were made by which the collection of maps in the State Department at Washington was for an interval transferred to the College Library in Cambridge, and I began the study of the charts and the notes attached, which resulted in a published calendar of the collection (1886). Mr. Deane followed me in this labor with much interest; and the maps seemed to him like old friends, reviving his recollections of the days when he used to visit Kohl's studio in Cambridge and watch his labors.

There had been great advances in this comparative study of

historical geography since Dr. Kohl did his work, and it was very apparent, both to me and to Mr. Deane, that while the drawings were still valuable in so far as they preserved maps in European collections which had not been published, the notes which Dr. Kohl had annexed to them needed too much revision to be available for publication. We procured from Worcester the section of the written study of these topics which the Antiquarian Socicty possessed, and it stood the advanced tests of improved scholarship no better; and it was with some sorrow that Mr. Deane as well as I saw meanwhile that the Coast Survey in 1884 published one of Dr. Kohl's memoirs remaining in their hands. It was an injustice to its author's memory to make known at that time what he had written thirty years before.

Harvard College conferred upon Mr. Deane the degree of Master of Arts in 1856; and when the University celebrated its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary in 1886, and representative men from all parts of the country were called to her festival to receive honor at her hands, Mr. Deane stood up before the assembly, and received from President Eliot the designation of "antiquary and historian, a master among students of American history," while he was made a Doctor of Laws. Bowdoin had conferred the same degree upon him in 1871. As early as 1853 he had been chosen into the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

Mr. Deane was made a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in October, 1849; and when Mr. Winthrop became President in 1855, he was the chairman of the Standing Committee. It was the dawn of a new life in the Society. "I well remember," he said at a later day, "the time and labor spent in the attempt to bring order out of chaos." He had been on the Publishing Committee earlier, but this year was signalized by his triumph with the manuscript of Bradford. He and the President were instrumental at this time in printing an issue of the proceedings of a single meeting (April 12, 1855); and by so doing they established a prototype for the printed series of such publications, which was not regularly begun till 1858. The Dowse library soon came to our Society; and Mr. Deane was as active in giving a proper arrangement to it as he was in settling the preliminaries of printing the cata-

logue of the Society's library. In 1863 he became chairman of the committee on publishing the Proceedings; and for a series of fourteen years his interest never flagged, and his ripened scholarship permeated nearly all that the Society printed in this form. In the tribute which he paid to Dr. Robbins, he recalled this happy assiduity. "Almost any day at high noon," he said, "we two were quite likely to meet at the rooms, and to be joined by the President and other officers and members, when the interests of the Society were considered, and kindred themes discussed." A new committee in 1878 taking charge, they referred to his labors in saying that "nine volumes issued under his supervision within fourteen years attest his unwearied industry, his scrupulous accuracy, and the soundness of his judgment on historical questions." But his services were not to be dispensed with. He was in April, 1878, named, with the Treasurer of the Society, to prepare the earlier proceedings for publication; and in 1879–1880 the two volumes which completed the monthly record of the Society's activity previous to 1858 were published, showing in their notes and memoirs the useful contributions of the editors in their harmonious labors. In 1884 he did his final service on the Society's Collections, by editing the Trumbull Papers. In June, 1886, he took great pleasure in welcoming the members at his own house in Cambridge; and as a part of the entertainment he laid before them a number of letters of Dr. Priestley addressed to the Hon. George Thacher.

His connection with the American Antiquarian Society was only less intimate than that with the Historical Society. In 1850 he met Mr. Haven, the Secretary of the Society, at Mr. Livermore's house, and they talked together of the rise of the Massachusetts Company, — a subject which Mr. Haven had just illustrated by printing in the Proceedings of the Society the records of that company. It led to a correspondence, and on Oct. 23, 1851, Mr. Deane was chosen a member of the Society. In 1856 he became a member of the Publishing Committee, and never through the rest of his life relaxed his labors in its behalf. In 1860 he made for the first time the report of this committee, in which he gave a review of the manuscript material in the Society's cabinet. In 1865 he became a member of the Council, and in 1880 he succeeded George Bancroft as the Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, holding both

offices till his death. For the last ten years of his life, I was his companion on his visits to Worcester to attend the annual meetings, and he allowed nothing to stand in the way of his pilgrimage.

He was made a member of the London Society of Antiquaries in 1878.

He became promptly a member of the American Historical Association when it was organized at Saratoga in 1884, and he valued the opportunity which he had at its sessions of meeting persons interested in researches kindred to his own, coming from every part of the country. It seemed to broaden his conceptions; and the younger members of the Association will bear testimony to the kindly interest which he never shrank from showing in them.

He was a member of many other American historical societies, — the New England Historic, Genealogical Society (elected in 1845); the Rhode Island Historical Society (1847); the New York Historical Society (1852); the Newport Historical Society (1854); the Wisconsin Historical Society (1856); the Maryland Historical Society (1868); the Long Island Historical Society (1868); the Maine Historical Society (1870); the Virginia Historical Society (1881) and the Essex Institute (1887). He was chosen into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1866.

Toward the end of his life he began to show that his years had an increasing weight, but he did not relax his interest in his studies. In February, 1888, he drew the attention of the Historical Society to an old tract, William Morrell's "New England, or a briefe Enarration," and had intended to edit a reprint of it for the current volume of the Society's Proceedings; but in May, 1889, he had to signify to the Committee that his strength was not equal to it. "His life," said the Committee in their preface in accounting for the failure, "has been full and rich and fruitful during his membership here for nearly half a century." He had already, at the preceding meeting in April, 1889, announced his completion of the last work which he did among the Society's manuscripts, when he gave notice that the Cabinet would not yield sufficient material to constitute a memorial volume respecting the centenary of the Constitution of the United States, then in men's minds. The

meeting when he made this announcement was the last which he attended. His friends, and particularly the Society's librarian, Dr. Green, with his professional eye, saw that a change was upon him. He was urged not to attempt to attend the customary reception at the President's house, and went at once to Cambridge. I saw him a few weeks later, on returning from a journey, and found his interest in the Society still unflagging, and he was eager to listen to a brief recital of my wanderings. He soon became worse, and I saw him but a few times more. He died on the 13th of November, 1889, having just completed his seventy-sixth year; and on the next day the President at a meeting of this Society briefly spoke of the deep shadow which pervaded the room where the presence of their first Vice-President had been so long a beneficent satisfaction.

In October the Council of the Antiquarian Society had passed at their annual meeting resolutions of sympathy and respect, and had sent them to his family. When news reached his Worcester friends of his death, the Council again convened, and after a tribute from the President, Mr. Stephen Salisbury, in which it was observed that Mr. Deane was the sixth in seniority at the time of his death, Senator Hoar spoke of him as the acknowledged chief and arbiter in historical knowledge, and of his great readiness to render aid to others. On December 3, at the house of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., the Historical Society met to pay their last tribute; and the printed record shows the way in which his old friends and his younger associates united in their affectionate remembrances.

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